
CHAPTER II

RACE, CASTE, RELIGION AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF
INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

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INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

After understanding India's geographical importance, which is certainly connected with other factors like race and religion is also to be assessed as an important factor. The policy of non-alignment introduced by India since 1947 was also much influenced by a very ~~dark~~ page in Indian history i.e. The division of one nation in two i.e. India and Pakistan. It is doubted whether any country in the world possess such a richly exploited history. A history influenced by various factors namely of mutual distrust because of which, British rule flourished in India. The cultural diversity was the greatest advantage of British power.

India was not only economically exploited, but she was also culturally exploited. Perhaps cultural weakness has contributed to economical exploitation by the British. India's mother hood has tolerated much and has contributed much for both her weaknessess and strength. Hence non-alignment as ^a concept stands 'TRUE' a path, a single path with no other alternative for independent India. Nehru was awaited by the whole world to annowance his foreign policy and when he announed his foreign policy, he was critised by many nations. In ~~h~~is context it is worthwhile to analyse

language and culture as part and parcel of geography in understanding India's foreign policy.

A foreign policy is always planned. Every human activity invariably goes with planning. St. Augustine has described the future as our present expectation. George Allen Morgan offers a very neat and brief definition of planning, when he states; "It is thinking ahead with a view of action"¹. Further in this directions Rostow also supports it when he points foreign policy planning" is the art of thinking in ways that lead you to do something now, which will make the nations' position on the world scene better in future"².

These definitions point that a nation's foreign policy is always on anticipations of international events. A nation has to adjust herself to international events. Hence a nations foreign policy becomes "a prelude action, it is policy making"³. A country's foreign policy goes through all these processess before it takes final shape.

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1. George Allen Morgan, 'Planning in Foreign Affairs',
The State of the Art ' Foreign Affairs, p.271.))
 2. W.W.Rostow^o, The Planning of Foreign Policy, Baltimore,
1964, p.44.
 3. Audrew H.Berding, The Making of Foreign Policy,
Washington, 1966, p.44.

Any fullscale inquiry in to India's foreign policy would lead one to range widely through history to identify the variety of influences which flooded between Indian and her neighbours. The field of culture is much wider. It is pointed that, if there is any country on earth which can claim the honour of being. "The cradle of human race, that country assuredly is India"⁴. Sir Thomas Manrove points that, India was a country which was of "civilized people. The Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe"⁵. It was India, not Greece, that thought Islam... found its philosophy, religious ideas, literature, art and architecture"⁶. India was the temple of humanity. India has given much to the world. In the history of human culture the contribution of India has been of greatest importance. She was the motherland of human race and Sanskrit, the mother of Europe's languages. Ancient India was looked upon with feeling of respect. "India was China's teacher in religion and ~~imaginative~~ literature and the world's teacher in trigonometry, quadratic equation, grammer, politics, Arabian nights, Animal fables as well as ~~is~~ philosophy. It is India who

4. E.B.Haveli, Erean Rule in India.

5. Thomas Manrove.

6. E.B.Haveli, Erean Rule in India.

inspired Boccaccio's Goethe, Schopenhauer and Emerson"⁷.

India's contribution to the world is that of domestic poultry, Shellace, Cotton, Jute, Rice, Sugar, buffalo, Cinnamon, giner, pepper, the games of chess and polo. " India conquered and dominated China culturally for twenty centuries without ever having to send a single soldier across her border. This cultural conquest was never imposed by India on her neighbours. It was all the result of voluntary searching voluntary learning, voluntary pilgrimage and voluntary acceptance on the part of China"⁸.

Cultural memories are everlasting. Although India is a younger nation, its civilization is ancient. Professor Mac Muller has pointed that " It was love of truth that struck all the people who came in contact with India, as the prominent feature is the national character of its habitants. No one ever accused them of false. Another historian Abul Fazal pointed that Indian^us are religious, lovers of justice, grateful admirers of truth. Neighbour pointed, that " India is really the most tolerant nation in the world".

In this direction to understand India, it is worthwhile to quote Abul Fazal, a famous historian who wrote on India thus,

7. Refer Lin Yutang, Wisdom of India.

8. Hu. Shih, Ex. Ambassador of China to U.S.A.

"with all its magnitude of extent and the mightiness of its empire it is unequal in its climate, its rapid succession of harvests and the equable temper^ament of its people. Not withstanding its vast size it is cultivated throughout. You cannot accomplish a stage nor indeed travel a (Kos) without meeting with populous towns and flourishing villages nor without being gladdened by the sight of sweet waters, delightful verdure and enchanting towns. In the autumn and, throughout the depth of winter the plains are green and the trees in foliage. During the rainy season which extends from the close of the Sun's stay in Gemini to his entry in to sign of Virgo the elasticity of the atmosphere is enough to transport the most dispirited and lend the vigour of youth to old age. Shall I praise the refulgence of its skies or the marvellous fertility of its soil ? Shall I describe the constancy of its inhabitants or record their benevolence of mind ? Shall I portray the beauty that charms the heart or sing of purity unstained ? Shall I tell of heroic valour or weave romances of their vivacity of intellect and their love ? The inhabitants of this land are religious, affectionate hospitable, genial and frank. They are fond of scientific pursuits inclined to austeri-ty of life, seekers after justice. Contented, industrious

capable in affairs, loyal, truthful and constant.

The true worth of this people shines most in the day of aversity and its soldiers know not retreat from the field. When the day is doubtful, they dismount from their steeds and resolutely put their lives to hazard, accounting the dishonour of flight more terrible than death, while some even disable their horses before entering the flight"⁹.

The contempary leaders are mindful of this past greatness at home and abroad and are unwilling to build toward anything less than a new image of greatness, that will effects the memories of subordination during centuries of western dominance. On the eve of independence, " the entire mankind was seeking to think in term of larger and larger political associations and even of one world based upon the vital unity of human race in India it was prejudical to the progress of humanity to create new fields of division in a narrow sprit of lingulism. India's internal unity has inevitably developed a certain ideology, out look and traditions inspired by nature and reinforced by history"¹⁰. Cultural

9. Abu Fazal. I.Allabri the Ain-I Akbari, Vol.3

pp.7-8. written in the sixteenth century, Translated by H.S.Jarretti.

10. Chamanlal, India Craddle of Cultures, Oxford and IBH Publishing Co.Ltd.,p.42.

by local symbols of loyalty and social custom were largely effected... all this resulted in the condition to divide the Indian people in to competing regional groups."¹³.

Language has been powerful factor in building ethos and effecting states re-organization in India. " The factor of languages is so far as they effect unity of group of people is geographically important, for its is distributed over the territory of India in the form of speech used by millions of human beings and it is politically meaningful for it enables the leaders in a democracy to communicate themselves with the electorate and makes the representatives of common language area understand each other and function as a block in relation to another language group of the neighbouring State"¹⁴.

Hence geography further influences the dwellings of the people in general. India hence is represented by various languages because of the role played by geography. "Geographers study boundaries because they are elements of the cultural landscape and because they represent the limits of political

13. Ibid.,p.316.

14. A Political Geography of India, Govind Saran Singh, -
The Pattern of Languages & Religious (Central Book
Depto.)Allahabad, pp.143.

soverignty¹⁵. Language riots have occasionally ruined
 the peace loving image of India.

Hence it is important to know the population distribution as far as the State wise distribution of the leading languages is concerned. The following table covers the fourteen major languages of the country recognised in the schedule VIII of the constitution of the Republic of India.¹⁶ The table shows State populations as well as the number of persons speaking the language that has the numerical superiority over other languages for 1951 and 1961 except the figures for Punjab for 1951, when the language controversy prevented enumeration. The leading languages of the respective State for 1951 have remained the leading ones in 1961; also some have made small percentage gains like Telugu in Andhra, Assamese in Assam, Kashamiri in Jammu and Kashmir, Tamil in Madras, Kannada in Mysore, Oriya in Orissa, Hindi in Uttar Pradesh and Bengali in West Bengal. The rest have lost a little in their leadership like Bihar's Hindi-Bihari.

 15. J.R.V.Press Cott. The Geography of Frontiers and Boundaries, Chicago Aldin Publishing Company, 1965, p.27.

16. Sources, Census of India, Part-II C, Language Tables, 1964, pp.XV-XXIII, also paper No.1, 1962, Delhi.

*Why could we not
take Census of 1971
if not 81*

STATE WISE DISTRIBUTION OF
MAJOR LANGUAGES (1951-1961) IN INDIA

Figures are in millions, except those in brackets that show percentages of people speaking the major language of the State.

Major Language of the State.	Population 1951	Persons speaking major language	Population 1961	Persons speaking major language
Andhra-Telugu	31.1	26.6 (85.5)	35.9	30.9 (86.0)
Assam-Assamese	8.8	4.9 (55.6)	11.8	6.7 (56.7)
Bihar-Hindi Bihari.	38.7	31.5 (81.3)	46.4	36.6 (79.5)
Gujarat-Gujarati	16.2	14.8 (91.3)	20.6	18.6 (90.2)
J. & K.-Kashmiri	3.2	1.4 (43.7)	3.5	1.8 (51.0)
Madhya Pradesh-Hindi	26.0	19.8 (76.1)	32.3	21.6 (66.8)
Madras-Tamil	30.1	24.7 (82.0)	33.6	28.0 (83.3)
Maharashtra-Marathi	32.0	24.8 (77.5)	39.5	30.2 (76.4)
Mysore-Kannada	19.4	12.5 (64.4)	23.5	15.3 (65.1)
Orissa-Oriya	14.6	12.0 (82.1)	17.5	14.4 (82.2)
Punjab-Punjabi	16.1	Not available	20.3	8.3 (40.8)
Rajasthan-Rajasthani	16.9	10.9 (68.5)	20.1	11.3 (56.2)
Uttar Pradesh-Hindi	63.2	50.4 (79.7)	73.7	62.4 (84.6)
West Bengal-Bengali	26.3	21.6 (82.1)	34.9	29.4 (84.2)

Note: Figures on Bihar included in 1951 and 1961 from p.XI and figures on Rajasthan taken from p.XVIII of the former volume mentioned above.

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Language: A Politico-Geographical Fact:

While one may recognise the similarity, between spoken Hindi and Urdu and to some extent Punjabi and group them together giving a share of 38.2 % for the speech of language, Hindi alone accounts for 30.4 % of all the people of India speaking different languages. Not illogical is the inclusion of Rajasthani and Bihari with the former three languages to form a bigger group of five languages one can include Marathi also which has the same scripts as Hindi and has considerable similarity of vocabulary and its inclusion will swell the ~~six~~ language group to a 53 % share in India's speech". A common language in India could be a powerful basis for national unity but according to the 1951 census there were 844 languages and dialects in the country"¹⁷.

"Unfortunately, Hindi at the time of its adoption could not compare in literary development with at least three of the other languages Bengali, Tamil and Marathi"¹⁸. Tamil and Bengali have shown the toughest resistance to the adoption of Hindi as the official language, English has been

17. Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr. "The Riots in Tamil Nadu, Problems & Prospects, 9, India's Language Crisis", Asian Survey, V.No.81, August, 1965, p.403.

18. Selig.S.Harrison, 'The Challenge to Indian Nationalism,' 'Foreign Affairs, XXXIV, No.4, July, 1967, p.624.

another contestant to be faced by Hindi. It is used by about one percent of India's population and is championed not by this one percent of India's population but by the 70 % speaking Tamil. It is obvious that their dislike for Hindi is not because they love English, Their arguments for English are basically as follows:

1. English is spoken all over India, so its use will unite India.
2. It is an international language.
3. Hindi is not as rich in literature as Tamil. or Bengali.
4. English provides an access to the world of science and technology, and;
5. Hindi's use will suppress the regional languages and cultures in non-Hindi areas and lead to Hindi imperialism.

It is true that English can be heard and understood by some persons all over India, but its distribution has such vast gaps that its presence is over shadowed. If Hindi is not understood in the villages of Madras State, so is English which is not understood practically all over the Indian village society.

Gandhiji in his opinion on the problem of Indians Education has fearlessly emphasised that what we write and the

literature we produce should answer to the needs of our village, where three fourths of India lives. English is the language of handful of the city dwellers especially of bureaucracy that largely is the hang over from the British days of the Salute the Sahib. The creation of this class of people has involved the creation of a barrier between the Indian elite and the Indian villages that in most of India the English speaking person is a symbol of exploitation of India by foreign power and today some Indians have obtained recognition on advantage by using English in preference to some one, who may not know English even if he may know his native language twenty times better than the English speaking man's knowledge of English.

Linguistic Agitation & the Constitutional Position:

"Love of one's mother tongue was always there in India, but perhaps the first agitation as a demand of a group to love with the group that spoke the same language occurred in 1874, when Sylhet was transferred from Assam to Bengal."¹⁹ During the 1920 annual session of the Congress Party at Nagpur, the party decided to apply the principle of linguistic

19. See Singh G.S. 'Maratha Geopclitics and the Indian Nation, Bombay, 1966, p.28.

redistribution of States on all India basis. The Committee in 1928 draft constitution for redistribution of the provinces on a more logical basis". The conference Committee reported that, the redistribution should be partly geographical and partly economic and financial but that the main consideration should necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the areas concerned"²⁰.

Two years later, the Indian National Congress again assured the people of India of a linguistic reorganization of States and in 1945 the party's election manifesto reassured the people of their right to realise linguistic and cultural freedom. The Congress Party was not satisfied with the report of the 'Dar Commission' and appointed its own three man linguistic provinces committee, known as the 'JVP' Committee,²¹ which submitted its report on April 1949. The 'JVP' Committee, however, seconded the serious warning of the 'Dar Commission' and expressed serious concern that administrative, financial and economic problems might be over shadowed by the linguistic issue. "Some of the Congress leaders saw the idea of linguistic

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20. John Bondurant "Regionalism versus provincialism- A study in problems of Indian National Unity", Indian Press Digest Monograph Series No.4, December, 1955. (Berkeley Institute of International Studies: University of California, 1955), p.22.
21. The Committee consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya (JVP Committee),

States as harmful and even dangerous, one of the elder Statesman C. Rajagopalchari considered the whole concept a tribal idea"²².

India's constituent assembly gave the following assurance:

"Whereas in India there are only a number of administrative areas which have grown up almost haphazard as the result of conquest, suppression ~~for~~ former rulers or for administrative purposes whereas federation schemes usually start with a number of clearly defined States, each already possessing individuality and consciousness, whereas provincial autonomy which forms the basis of federation required a homogeneous population with common language and culture and efficient discharge of its educational and cultural functions. This convention of representatives composed of the members of the organization, supporting the cause of linguistic and cultural redistribution of provinces in India recommends to the Constituent Assembly that at its plenary session it does accept to such a forementioned principle and to set up the necessary for evolving and giving effect to such a

22. The Overseas Hindustan Times, New Delhi, March 19, 1953, p.4.

a redistribution of provinces on a linguistic, cultural and geography basis immediately after the new constitution has been adopted and Indo-British treaty has been signed"²³.

It has been recognised by those who love democracy and freedom that a political area should be culturally as cohesive as possible. A State in India is a political area, and its re-organization on the basis of language was a natural need, to be fulfilled if people could be expected to work together, which they were taught to work. A State Assembly linguistically divided, would have a whole set of hurdles causing misunderstanding and preventing proper legislation. So the right of the State to be Unilingual was definitely accepted but this very fact strengthened linguism which was not desirable for the unity of India. It was the good deal of linguism that built up language pride that reduced the importance of English. Morris-Jones²⁴ in his article " language and religion with in Indian Union" does refer to this problem as it affected the balance of power between the State and centre in New Delhi.

23. See Sāngh G.S., 'Maratha Geopolitics and Indian Nation, Bombay, 1966, p.30.

24. Mason P. (Ed.) India and Ceylon, Unity & Diversity, Oxford University Press, 1967, pp.51-66.

Religion Divides or Unites:

Akbar united the Hindus and Muslims and treated them fairly equally. On ^{the} other hand, Akbar's successors were very cruel to Hindus, and Hindu-Muslim animosity became characteristic strong under these Muslim emperor's. "The Muslims converted many Hindus ~~in~~ to Islamic faith by imposing various religious taxes and by using force. Advancement to real power depended upon being a Muslim with the result that a number of Hindus were converted to the victorious faith"²⁵. The partition of India, it was felt by some would and the religious agitations in the land, and even though one hopes and tries for a supra-religious secularism, enshrined in the Indian constitution, to guide and perceive thought and action in the country, religious differences cause a serious concern. Pakistan especially in its Western wing, wiped and expelled the Hindus and Sikhas so systematically that the question of minorities does not bother them as they have drafted their constitution on their theological basis. In examining the pattern of religious distribution in India one can notice the changes in various religious groups as

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P-16

25. Helen G. Matthew, Ed. Asia with Modern World,

New York, The New American Literary, 1963, p.170.

regards their percentage participations in the total Indian population. After having seen their present and past participations, he can see that the basic Hindu majority in India is going to remain a reality. If Pakistan realised the fruitlessness of her effort in regard to her claim on Kashmir and if India behaves in a manner that makes it clear to Pakistan that such efforts, either activity militant or largely in the sphere of venomous propoganda, will not work. There should be considerable stability in the country. The Moslems of India have shown adequate sprit of accommodation and the Hindus of India have shown matching sense of responsibility towards them, but Pakistan press and radio keep distrubing India's religious peace.

The Hindu Back-ground & Muslim Re-adjustment:

The unifying role of Hinduism in the integration of India, along with its secular and tolerant growth that made it acceptable and even respectable, to Muslims in India who prefered to stay back in India and did not go to Pakistan is indisputable. Even though seperated by language, the Hindus are tied together by ~~common~~ set of traditional practices including ritualistic observances, folk festivals, and faith in re-incarnation. The same is true of east and west and the massive and seasonal movements bring the Hindus together from even thousands of kilometers.

Gandhaji perhaps the world's widest known Hindu, has this to say about the Hindu philosophy.

"The Hindu system of philosophy regards all religions as containing the element of truth in them and enjoins an attitude of respect and reverence towards them ... Hinduism leaves the individual absolutely free to do what he or she likes for the sake for the self-realisation for which and which alone he or she is born"²⁶.

The preceding idea is further strengthened by the following observance made by Dr Mackenzie Brown; "The political ideas of the Hindus are to be found in a rich variety of sources ranging from the early Vedas to the writings of Gandhaji and Tagore... Gandhaji speaks in the Hindu tradition when he says, " I claim that human mind or human society is not divided in to water-tight compartments called social, political and religious. All act and re-act upon one another. Among the world's oldest system of political science is that of Hindus.

26. Fischer, Louis; The Essential Gandhi, New York, 1963, p.212.

The political speculations begin at least as early as the second millenium B.C. in the Rig-Veda"²⁷.

In prepartition India, the Islamic currents came from Turkey, Arabia, Afghnistan, Persia etc., through traders and invaders. Immigration and conversion both forciable and wilful swelled the number of the Muslims in India. Yet it was low enough to frighten them with the thought that in the event of democracy, after the British withdrawl with Hindus vastly out-numbering them they would be at a serious disadvantage. Under the Hindu~~m~~ majority this feeling was strengthened by the British policy of divide and rule". The complete absence of communal riots during the India-Pakistan conflict of 1965 was a credit both to the Hindus and Muslims of India"²⁸.

The following table shows the religious distribution in India, and speaks for itself. Table

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27. Brown, Mackenzic D., The White Umbrella,
University of California, Press, 1964, pp.6-7.
28. Govind Saran Singh, A Political Geography of
India, First Edition, 1969, p.63.

Table-29*
RELIGION IN INDIA(1961)

Figures show religious percentage in State Populations

States	Buddhist	Charist- ians.	Hindus	Jains	Muslims	Sikhs	Total
Andhra	0.02	3.97	88.41	0.03	7.55	0.02	N
Assam	0.31	6.44	66.41	0.88	23.29	0.08	3.39
Bihar	0.01	1.08	84.70	0.04	12.04	0.09	1.63
Gujarat	0.01	0.44	88.96	1.99	8..46	0.05	9.09
Jammu and Kashmir	1.36	0.08	28.45	0.04	68.80	1.77	N
Kerale	N	21.22	60.83	0.02	17.91	0.01	0.01
Madhya Predesh	0.35	0.58	93.99	0.77	4.07	0.20	0.04
Mysore	0.04	2.07	87.27	0.74	9.87	0.01	0.00
Orissa	0.60	1.15	97.57	0.01	1.23	0.03	0.01
Punjab	0.07	0.74	63.67	2.24	1.94	33.33	0.01
Rajasthan	0.01	0.11	89.96	2.03	6.52	1.36	0.01
Utter Predesh	0.02	0.14	84.66	0.17	14.63	0.38	N
West Bengal	0.32	0.59	78.08	0.08	20.00	0.10	0.11
And and Nicobar.	2.68	28.28	51.58	0.01	11.64	0.38	5.42
Delhi	0.21	1.10	84.05	1.11	5.85	7.67	0.01
H.P.	0.47	0.04	96.96	0.01	1.90	0.62	N
Lac. Min. Admn.	N.A.	0.23	1.09	N	98.68	N	N
Manipur	0.04	19.49	61.68	0.10	6.23	0.07	12.39
Tripura	2.95	0.88	76.01	0.02	20.14	N	N
Dad & N.H.	N	1.38	97.61	0.21	0.76	N	0.04
Goa, Dam. and Diu.	0.03	36.25	61.04	0.01	2.26	N	0.11
Pondichery	0.01	9.20	84.32	0.02	6.36	N	0.09
Nefa	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N	N
Nagaland	0.01	52.98	9.39	0.07	0.24	0.07	37.2
Sikkim	30.76	1.79	66.69	0.01	0.74	0.05	0.01

* 29 Sources: Census of India, Table on Religious, Delhi.
1961, pp.ii-vii, n.a. Not available. , N. negligent.

Sanskrit Language:

The primary importance of Sanskrit lies in not only maintaining but also strengthening Indian cultural and political unity " Sanskrit has been and still continues to be the one great unifying factor for the people of India. India is multi-racial and polyglot country and in spite of Indianism which embraces all, there is a bewildering diversity (through in - essentials) in the spritual approach of the Indian peoples. But the basic character of India her great all India background, her Indianism her Bharata-dharma or Bharatya, is linked up with Sanskrit"³⁰. Apart from this very vital matter Sanskrit is a great treasure house for all Indian literary languages to draw their words of higher culture from modern Indian literary languages whether Aryan or Dravidian are no longer, building languages, i.e. they do not create new words with their own native elements. With sanskrit in the background and being nurtured in the bossom of Sanskrit, they have all become 'borrowing languages'. Any word in a Sanskrit book or Sanskrit dictionary is a prospective Bengali or Telgu, Marathi or Malayalam word. The much needed development of scientific and technological vocabulary will mean a greater and still

 30. The Cultural Heritage of India, Second Edition, 1958,
 Vol.VI, pp.53-4.

greater place for Sanskrit in modern Indian intellectual and cultural life"³¹.

India's foreign policy is not only the result of the physical environment but also the product of the traditional values of Indian society and the commitments of the Indian national movement during the freedom struggle.

Nehru who was fully aware of the effect of geography on foreign policy was also aware of the impact of traditional values and past culture. Speaking in the Lok Sabha in 1958, he said, "our foreign policy... is a policy inherent in the circumstances of India, inherent in the past thinking of India, inherent in the whole mental outlook of India, inherent in the conditioning of the Indian mind during our struggle of the world today"³². Some scholars trace the roots of India's foreign policy to the ancient Hindu traditions of isolationism. Murthy, for instance asserts that, "Ancient Hindu policy was one of isolationism" and concludes that isolationism makes for non-alignment and netutrality"³³.

The principles of co-existence and panchsheel as well as India's (especially Nehru's) desire to act as bridge of

31. Ibid.,p.667.

32. J.L.Nehru, Lok Sabha Debates, December 9,1958, publications Division, New Delhi,1958.

33. Murty, India's Foreign Policy, Scientific Book Agency, Calcutta,1964, Also Misra 'Studies in Indian Foreign Policy, eassy by Michel Brecher,"specific sources of Indian Neturalism". For a country view viz.non-alignment not a Hindu heritage, see Rahman, The Polities of Non-alignment, pp.4-8, also.Ch.3.

understanding between East and West flow from this ancient tradition.

Isolation though was adhered as a principle in inter-State relations in ancient Indians, in 1947 Nehru did not mean that Isolation as was practiced in ancient India. Concepts are never static, but they do change. Nehru wanted Isolation but with participation in the world events. He did not mean that India would not take part in international events. He wanted to take part not as a 'PAWN' of some super power; not as a aligned nation. India's cultural heritage was so, which was much influenced by geographical in other words culturally disintegration. The tradition of toleration (with sprang partly from the doctrine of partial truths) also was in some measures responsible for India adopting co-existence as an important plank of its foreign policy. Murthy asserts that ancient India never sanctioned was against other cultures, though way among Hindu Kings was permitted with a view to bringing the whole of India under one umbrella. Gibson is of the view that Muslim and Christian invaders who settled in India compelled her to develop a philosophy of co-existence and to produce an "Indian out look and temperament which inclines towards non-violence, pacifism, peaceful co-existence and understanding of many other divergent points of view of all essential ingredients of the naturalist position"³⁴. The Indian

34. Gyorgu and Gibbs (Ed) International Relations.

Nationalist movement and the ideas and the values nurtured by it also influenced India's foreign policy in many ways, Bandyopadhyaya sums up these influences as the emphasis on peace and non-violence anti-racialism, Asianism and rejection of Western ideologies"³⁵.

Further it can also be pointed that the Nehru always pointed " The past is every with us, and what we are and what we have comes from the past. We are the its products and we live immersed in it ...

Nehru pointed... (past) in maintains its dignity and repose and tempts the troubled sprit and fortured mind to seek shelter in its vaulted catacombs. There is peace and security and one may even sense a spiritual quality. With the past, the present and the future are inextricably intertwined. It is to the benefit of those to recall past history who have got a past which makes us proud and hopeful for the future. All this show the various factors which have influenced Indias foreign policy.

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35. J.Bandyopadhyaya, Making of India's Foreign Policy, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1972, pp.65-76.